

Message Text

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ACTION SS-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2507

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, WB

SUBJECT: ELECTRONIC DIALOGUE WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH

REF: USIA 18623

1. THERE FOLLOW SUGGESTED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
FOR THE VIDEO-TAPED INTERVIEW WITH THE DEPUTY
SECRETARY, AS REQUESTED REFTEL:

QUOTE:

Q: MR. SECRETARY, YOU HAVE BEEN INTIMATELY INVOLVED
IN ALL OF THE MAJOR EUROPEAN NEGOTIATIONS OF THE PAST
FEW YEARS. DO YOU FEEL THAT WE HAVE ENTERED INTO A
LASTING PERIOD OF DETENTE? IN THIS CONNECTION, PARTI-
CULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE,
WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE PROSPECT FOR TROOP
REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE?

A: LET ME ANSWER IN STEPS. FIRST OF ALL, AS YOU
KNOW, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN STRIVING TO MOVE
FROM AN ERA OF CONFRONTATION TO AN ERA OF NEGO-
TIATION. THIS HAS BEEN OUR APPROACH TO MANY
PROBLEMS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. IN EUROPE,
I THINK IT IS FAIR TO STATE THAT WE MADE A VERY
GOOD START. THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN
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AND THE FIRST ROUND OF THE STRATEGIC AMRS LIMITATION

TALKS WERE VERY SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES IN THE DUAL CONFERENCES ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS AND SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE IN AN EFFORT FURTHER TO REMOVE SOURCES OF MAJOR CONFLICT. I THINK WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT WITH GOOD WILL ON THE PART OF ALL PARTIES, ISSUES WE THOUGHT A FEW YEARS BACK WERE INSURMOUNTABLE CAN IN EFFECT BE SOLVED. THIS IS A VERY COMPLEX PROCESS INVOLVING MANY INTER-RELATED QUESTIONS AND WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT DRAMATIC RESULTS OVERNIGHT.

BUT EVEN IF, AS WE HOPE, OUR EFFORTS ARE SUCCESSFUL, IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE HAVE REACHED THE STATE WHERE WE CAN UNILATERALLY TAKE STEPS WHICH WILL ALTER FUNDAMENTAL POWER RELATIONSHIPS. AS I HAVE POINTED OUT A NUMBER OF TIMES, WHEN I WAS NEGOTIATING THE BERLIN AGREEMENT WHICH ELIMINATED THAT CITY AS A SOURCE OF PERMANENT TENSION IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IT WAS CLEAR TO ME THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT THE REALITY OF OUR COMMITMENTS TO NATO WAS A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE TALKS. WE HAVE A WHOLE GENERATION OF INVESTMENT IN A CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED SECURITY ARRANGEMENT IN EUROPE. IN THE FIRST ROUND OF SALT, WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED HOW IT WAS POSSIBLE TO MAKE MAJOR ADJUSTMENTS IN OUR STRATEGIC MILITARY POSTURE WITHOUT LOSS OF SECURITY. THE MBFR TALKS IN VIENNA ARE DIRECTED AT A START IN ANALOGOUS ADJUSTMENTS OF CONVENTIONAL FORWARD FORCES. WE APPROACH THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOOD FAITH AND GOOD WILL. WE ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE DIFFICULTY OF THE TASK BUT WE INTEND TO STICK BY OUR EUROPEAN COMMITMENTS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, IT IS A LITTLE OVER TWO YEARS SINCE YOU SIGNED THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN. IN RETROSPECT, DO YOU FEEL THAT THIS HAS TURNED OUT, AS MANY ANTICIPATED AT THE TIME, TO BE THE KEYSTONE TO THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION IN EUROPE YOU HAVE JUST DISCUSSED?

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A: FIRST OF ALL, I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT NONE OF THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS ENTERED INTO NEGOTIATION OF THE QA WITH THE IDEA THAT THEY WERE ABOUT TO SOLVE EUROPE'S MAJOR SECURITY PROBLEMS IN ONE FELL SWOOP. THE BERLIN AGREEMENT WAS NEGOTIATED ON ITS OWN MERITS. BERLIN PROBLEMS HAD LONG BEEN A SOURCE OF FRICTION BETWEEN THE

SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES AND THE WESTERN ALLIES.
TO BE SURE, IT WAS APPARENT THAT IF WE WERE SUCCESSFUL
IN NEGOTIATING THE ISSUES CONCERNING BERLIN, HOPE-
FULLY IT WOULD BODE WELL FOR EFFORTS TO ADDRESS
OTHER PROBLEMS. BUT THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION IN OUR
NEGOTIATIONS WAS ON THE IMMEDIATE BERLIN ISSUES
BEFORE THE HOUSE: TRAVEL BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND
THE FRG, VISITS BY WEST BERLINERS TO EAST BERLIN
AND THE GDR, REPRESENTATION OF WEST BERLIN BY THE
FRG, TIES BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND THE FRG, ETC.

Q: GRANTED THAT THIS WAS THE CASE, MR. SECRETARY,
DO YOU FEEL NEVERTHELESS THAT CONCLUSION OF THE QA
DID IN FACT OPEN THE DOOR TO OTHER MAJOR NEGOTIATIONS,
SUCH AS CSCE AND MBFR?

A: WELL, I HAVE NEVER LIKE MUCH TO TALK IN TERMS
OF AN EXPLICIT JUNCTIM. AS I INDICATED, THE MAJOR
CONFERENCES YOU MENTIONED, WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE
IN EUROPE NOW, OF COURSE COVER AN EXTREMELY

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COMPLICATED SET OF ISSUES, AND I THINK THERE
ARE STRONG MOTIVATIONS WHICH STAND ON THEIR
OWN MERITS FOR ALL PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE. AT
THE SAME TIME I DON'T THINK IT CAN BE DENIED
THAT THE CONCLUSION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT AND
THE EXAMPLE IT SET FOR FRESH AND IMAGINATIVE
APPROACHES TO DIFFICULT ISSUES HAS HAD A SALUTARY

INFLUENCE ON FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS EFFORTS. IT IS VERY EASY TO BECOME WEDDED TO PAST POLICIES, PAST WAYS OF APPROACHING PROBLEMS. CHANGE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE MAY NOT ALWAYS BE DRAMATIC BUT YOU REACH A POINT WHERE WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE TEN YEARS AGO BECOMES POSSIBLE. THE BERLIN AGREEMENT SEIZED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A FRESH APPROACH TO OLD PROBLEMS. IN OTHER WORDS, WE WERE ABLE TO MAKE CHANGE WORK FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL PARTIES.

AS THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT A FEW MONTHS AGO IN HIS ANNUAL REPORT TO THE CONGRESS ON THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, WE WERE SKEPTICAL IN ENTERING AN ERA OF NEGOTIATION ABOUT SYMBOLIC ACTS WHICH FAILED TO DEAL WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF EAST-WEST TENSIONS. WE KNEW THAT IF WE COULD NOT MAKE PROGRESS ON A CENTRAL ISSUE SUCH AS BERLIN, THE RESULTS OF A BROAD CONFERENCE WOULD BE ILLUSORY, AND TO STIMULATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE THROUGH SYMBOLIC GESTURES COULD ONLY LEAD TO DIS-ILLUSIONMENT AND INSECURITY. IN THIS REGARD, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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I THINK WE CAN SAY THAT THE BERLIN AGREEMENT WAS VITAL IN CREATING THE RIGHT ATMOSPHERE.

Q: WHAT ABOUT THE CONTENT OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT ITSELF, MR. SECRETARY; DO YOU BELIEVE THE AGREEMENT HAS LIVED UP TO YOUR EXPECTATIONS?

A: I THINK I CAN ANSWER THAT QUESTION POSITIVELY WITHOUT ANY HESITATION. NOW, THAT DOES NOT MEAN I AM UNAWARE OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE COME UP IN REGARD TO IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT. AFTER ALL, IT IS ONLY HUMAN WHEN YOUR HAVE HAD A DIRECT ROLE TO PLAY IN A DIFFICULT NEGOTIATION TO FOLLOW WITH SOME INTEREST WHAT HAPPENS WHEN IT IS OVER. WHILE I WOULD LET THE BERLINERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES ON THIS POINT, AS THEY WILL SHORTLY HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS SOUGHT IN THE AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED AND WE HAVE CREATED A CLIMATE IN WHICH WEST BERLIN CAN CONTINUE TO FLOURISH WITH ENHANCED SECURITY, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ITS CITIZENS HAVE BENEFITED FROM VERY SUBSTANTIAL HUMANITARIAN BENEFITS.

Q: WHAT ABOUT THE LESS TANGIBLE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, MR. SECRETARY; FOR EXAMPLE, I UNDERSTAND THERE HAS BEEN A MAJOR CONTROVERSY

OVER THE RIGHT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO REPRESENT WEST BERLIN ABROAD AND THAT THIS HAD HELD UP PENDING TREATIES BETWEEN BONN AND SOME OF THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

A: FIRST I WANT TO SAY THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE LESS TANGIBLE FEATURES, AS YOU CALL THEM, SHOULD NOT BE UNDER-ESTIMATED. MY GOVERNMENT CERTAINLY REGARDS THE PROVISIONS IN THE AGREEMENT IN REGARD TO REPRESENTATION OF WEST BERLIN BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC ABROAD AND THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TIES BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND EST BERLIN AS AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FEATURES OF THE AGREEMENT. I HAVE SPOKEN THUS FAR PRETTY MUCH ABOUT THOSE ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT THAT WERE PLUSES FROM THE WESTERN POINT OF VIEW, BUT LIKE ANY MAJOR AGREEMENT, WE HAD TO GIVE SOMETHING FOR WHAT WAS ACHIEVED. I DO NOT WANT AT THIS TIME TO GO INTO THE DETAILS OF THE BALANCE SHEET THAT RESULTED, BUT SUFFICE IT TO SAY THAT THE REPRESENTATION OF WEST BERLIN ABROAD BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW WAS AN IMPORTANT ITEM ON THE PLUS SIDE OF THE LEDGER. WHILE CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION HAS RECENTLY BEEN FOCUSED ON CONSULAR REPRESENTATION QUESTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FRG'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOME OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES, WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT JUST A FEW WEEKS AGO THE FRG WAS ACCEPTED INTO THE UN WHERE IT WILL BE REPRESENTING WEST BERLIN'S INTEREST, EXCEPT WHERE SECURITY AND STATUS ARE CONCERNED. THESE ARE FEATURES OF THE AGREEMENT THAT CONTRIBUTE TO A VIBRANT, HEALTHY WEST BERLIN. AND THAT REMAINS A MAJOR UNITED STATES POLICY INTEREST IN EUROPE.

Q: WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF WEST BERLIN NOW THAT BOTH EAST AND WEST GERMANY ARE IN THE UNITED NATIONS; MOST OF THE NATO ALLIES HAVE NOW ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH THE GDR AND I SUPPOSE THE UNITED STATES WILL BE TAKING THIS STEP SOME TIME BEFORE VERY LONG. DO YOU BELIEVE WEST BERLIN IS GOING TO BE ABLE TO STAND UP TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE OF HAVING A CAPITAL SUCH AS EAST BERLIN WITH AN EXPANDING DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY IN ITS BACKYARD?

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A: I AM NOT TOO MUCH CONCERNED ON THAT SCORE. FOR ONE THING, THE ENTRY OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IN THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH MY GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED, DID NOT CHANGE THE LEGAL STATUS OF BERLIN-- AND THE BERLIN AGREEMENT, OF COURSE, PROVIDED THAT SUCH CHANGES COULD NOT BE MADE UNILATERALLY. LEGAL STATUS ASIDE, WEST BERLIN IS ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT CITIES FROM VIRTUALLY ANY STANDPOINT, INDUSTRIAL, CULTURAL, OR JUST IN TERMS OF A DESIRABLE PLACE TO LIVE. WHILE THE CHALLENGES FROM ACROSS THE WALL--AND OF COURSE THE WALL IS ONE UNDESIRABLE FEATURE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ELIMINATE--MAY BE A LITTLE MORE SUBTLE TODAY THAN IN THE PAST, I THINK THE WEST BERLINERS ARE USED TO CHALLENGE AND HAVE ALWAYS MET IT IN A WAY THAT HAS AROUSED WORLD ADMIRATION. I WOULD THINK THERE WOULD BE MORE OPPORTUNITY PERHAPS THAN EVER BEFORE FOR WEST BERLIN, LOCATED AS IT IS CLOSE TO THE HEART OF EASTERN EUROPE WITH ITS INSTITUTIONS AND ORIENTATION TIED IN WITH WEST EUROPE, TO SERVE AS A MAJOR CENTER FOR EXCHANGE OF IDEAS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND POSSIBLY AS THE LOCATION FOR NEW EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS. THIS IS A TREND THE UNITED STATES WOULD WHOLE-HEARTEDLY SUPPORT.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, THIS MAY BE ASKING YOU TO
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GO OUT ON A LIMB, BUT DO YOU THINK IT IS FAIR
TO SAY THAT THERE IS NO MORE BERLIN PROBLEM?

A: I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT IT HAS BEEN
SOME TIME SINCE WE HAVE HAD A MAJOR CRISIS
FOCUSED ON BERLIN AND IT IS CERTAINLY OUR HOPE
THAT WE WILL HAVE NONE IN THE FUTURE. ONE THING,
OF COURSE, HAS NOT CHANGED AND WILL NOT CHANGE,
AND THAT IS BERLIN'S GEOGRAPHY. THAT IS WHY I
HAVE SUGGESTED THAT IN THINKING ABOUT BERLIN'S
FUTURE ONE SHOULD FOCUS ON THE ADVANTAGES OF ITS
GEOGRAPHY RATHER THAN THE OTHER WAY AROUND. TO
BE SURE, BERLIN IN THE FUTURE WILL PROBABLY REMAIN
A FAIR INDICATOR OF TRENDS IN EUROPE AS A WHOLE,
BUT I FOR ONE HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE THAT WITH
GOOD WILL ON ALL SIDES, THE FUTURE AUGURS WELL.
OUR GOAL MUST BE TO CONSTRUCT A SET OF EUROPEAN
RELATIONS--IN THE FIELDS OF SECURITY, ECONOMICS,
AND EXCHANGE OF PERSONS AND IDEAS--THAT WILL BE
A BETTER GUARANTEE OF A SOUND FUTURE FOR BERLIN
THAN ANY AGREEMENT PER SE. IN MY VIEW, BERLIN
ITSELF HAS AN IMPORTANT PART TO PLAY HERE- IN
PROMOTING IDEAS AND DEVELOPING CONTACTS.

Q: ONE FINAL QUESTION, MR. SECRETARY. THERE
HAVE BEEN SOME DRAMATIC CHANGES IN EAST-WEST
RELATIONS OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS. WHERE DO
WE GO FROM HERE; WILL THE PACE OF CHANGE KEEP
UP;

A: WITHOUT ENTERING INTO PREDICTIONS, I CERTAINLY
HOPE THE PACE WILL KEEP UP. WE HAVE NOW
AMPLEY DEMONSTRATED THAT VIGILANCE IN RECOGNIZING
OPPORTUNITIES TO BRING ABOUT CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE
IS AS IMPORTANT AS VIGILANCE IN ADHERING TO OUR
COMMITMENTS. THE TWO GO HAND IN HAND. THE UNITED
STATES WILL REMAIN VITALLY INTERESTED IN EUROPE'S
FUTURE AND DOES NOT INTEND TO BE BYSTANDER IN
MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS OR NEGOTIATIONS. AS THE SECRETARY
OF STATE SAID JUST THE OTHER DAY, WE CANNOT MOVE
TOWARD THE WORLD OF THE FUTURE, HOWEVER, WITHOUT
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FIRST MAINTAINING PEACE IN THE WORLD AS IT IS.
AT THE SAME TIME WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE VERY
SUCCESS OF PAST POLICY AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE

HAS CREATED NEW VIBRANT EUROPEAN FORCES. IF WE
RECOGNIZE OUR NEW COMMUNAL RELATIONSHIPS, IF WE
ARE PERSISTENT BUT NOT RECKLESS, IF WE ARE PREPARED
TO INNOVATE WITHOUT LOSING SIGHT OF OUR
INTERESTS OR THE INTERESTS OF OUR FRIENDS,
THEN I THINK THERE IS EVERY REASON TO HOPE
FOR FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS IN PUTTING
EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS ON AN EVEN SOUNDER
FOOTING. WE SEEK SUCH RESULTS IN MBFR AND
FURTHER SALT TALKS AND IN CSCE. EUROPEANS
WILL ULTIMATELY SHAPE TOMORROW'S EUROPE BUT
UNITED STATES INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE AS WELL
AND WE HOPE TO LEND A HELPFUL HAND UNQUOTE

2. ANTICIPATED QUESTIONS FROM INTERLOCUTORS
IN BERLIN WILL BE SUBJECT SEPTTEL.KLEIN

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